

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 07477 230816Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----049571 231008Z /16

R 211215Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2979

S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 7477

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EAID, MASS, OGEN, PINS, SHUM, PK, US
SUBJECT: DEALING WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

REF: STATE 169932,

1. REFTEL IS HELPFUL REVELATION OF WASHINGTON THINKING. THE FOLLOWING IS OFFERED AS ADMITTEDLY PARACHIAL COMMENTARY OF REFTEL, IN EFFORT TO ASSURE MAXIMUM CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS.

2. INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN IS APPARENTLY DESIROUS OF LIMITING DAMAGE THAT SYMINGTON AMENDMENT WOULD CAUSE TO BILATERAL RELATIONS. THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT GOP HAS CHANGED ITS VIEW THAT OUR MILITARY SALES RELATIONSHIP AND PL-480 SALES ARE IN ITS INTERESTS. FOR OUR PART, HOWEVER, WE SEEM TO BE JUMPING TO CONCLUSION THAT IF SYMINGTON AMENDMENT, OR SUCCESSOR GLENN AMENDMENT MUST BE APPLIED, IT WILL AND MUST AFFECT MOST ASPECTS OF RELATIONS, INCLUDING MILITARY SALES. WE SEEM ABOUT TO IMPLEMENT THAT BROADER INTERPRETATION UNILATERALLY, BEFORE SUCH ACTION WOULD SEEM TO BE NECESSARY.

3. I REALIZE I AM NOT IN POSITION HERE TO ASSESS ACCURATELY CONGRESSIONAL REACTIONS IN THE EVENT WE HAVE TO APPLY SANCTIONS RELATING TO REPROCESSING PLANT. HOWEVER IT SEEMS TO ME AT LEAST POSSIBLE THAT THE CONGRESS, IN THAT EVENT, MIGHT BE PERSUADED

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THAT SOME DEGREE OF NORMAL SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP, ESPECIALLY IN MILITARY SALES, WOULD BE IN OUR INTERESTS, AS WE CONTINUE TO WORK ON NONPROLIFERATION GOALS HERE. THIS WOULD REFLECT WHAT WE UNDERSTAND IS THE CONGRESSIONAL VIEW THAT SYMINGTON AMENDMENT IS ESSENTIALLY PROPHYLACTIC, NOT PUNITIVE IN NATURE. WE SHOULD ALSO BE ON SAFE GROUND WITH THE CONGRESS IN ARGUING THAT WE ARE FULFILLING THE CONGRESSIONAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE SYMINGTON AMENDMENT,

BUT NOT GOING BEYOND THEM INTO AREAS SUCH AS MILITARY SALES WHICH THE CONGRESS ITSELF EXCLUDED.

4. IF WE ARE TO ATTEMPT TO WORK WITH A FUTURE GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN FOR CANCELLATION OR NON-USE OF THE REPROCESSING PLANT, WE SHOULD AVOID IN THIS INTERIM PERIOD THOSE ACTIONS WHICH WOULD FURTHER AROUSE NEGATIVE PUBLIC, POLITICAL, MILITARY AND GOVERNMENTAL REACTIONS AND FURTHER LIMIT OUR ABILITY TO UNDERAKE USEFUL DISCUSSIONS HERE.

5. I WOULD THEREFORE ARGUE THAT WE SHOULD IN THIS PERIOD CONTINUE TO EXAMINE MILITARY SALES REQUESTS ON THEIR MERITS WITHOUT REGARD TO THE REPROCESSING ISSUE. SPECIFICATIONS I BELIEVE WE

SHOULD MOVE FORWARD ON THE 105MM AMMO SALE, THE DESTROYER TENDER, THE ADDITIONAL TWO DESTROYERS AND THE HOWITZERS, FORWARDING THOSE FOR CONGRESSIONAL NOTIFICATION WHERE REQUIRED, AND WHERE THE SALES MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF OUR OVERALL ARMS POLICY. IF INFORMAL CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS INDICATE STRONG OPPOSITION TO THE SALES, WE COULD THEN DECIDE NOT TO GO AHEAD.

6. AS FOR THE ARGUMENT THAT THE SHIP SALES MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN A PACKAGE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT SHOULD THE GOP FOREGO REPROCESSING, IT IS OUR VIEW THEY ARE USEFUL NOW IN KEEPING OUR LINES OPEN TO THE MILITARY AND MAINTAINING THE GENERALLY FAVORABLE DISPOSITION TOWARD THE US OF SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS. HOWEVER,
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THEY WOULD NOT BE MAJOR INDUCEMENTS IF INCLUDED AS PART OF A MILITARY PACKAGE BECAUSE THE KEY ELEMENT OF A PACKAGE WOULD BE AIRCRAFT SALES.

7. AS THOSE WHO HAVE LIVED WITH THE 1965 ARMS EMBARGO KNOW, THE EMBARGO ON MAJOR SALES IMPLIED BY THE STAND-DOWN SUGGESTED IN REFTTEL WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO LIFT. THERE WILL BE PLENTY OF TIME IN THE FUTURE TO IMPOSE SUCH RESTRICTIONS ON SALES IF AND WHEN WE CONCLUDE THAT NEW EFFORTS TO SECURE A CANCELLATION OF THE REPROCESSING PLANT HAVE DEFINITELY FAILED. IN THE MEANTIME, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH SHOULD NOT UNILATERALLY CURTAIL ITS OWN FLEXIBILITY IN APPROACHING THE ISSUE.
HUMMEL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTERIM GOVERNMENT, MILITARY SALES, ARTILLERY, NAVAL SHIPS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 21-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977ISLAMA07477
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770263-0713
Format: TEL
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770734/aaaabdhv.tel
Line Count: 109
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 67e76d66-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 STATE 169932
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1793956
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEALING WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT
TAGS: EAID, MASS, OGEN, PINS, SHUM, PK, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/67e76d66-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009